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TRANSMITTAL SLIP

DATE: 24 Aug 59

TO: Mr. John S. Warner

ROOM NO.	BUILDING
221	East

REMARKS

BOB man is!
Jim Lyde 113 X437
no repairs, no
position as of 8/25

FROM: SRS/DDI

ROOM NO.	BUILDING	EXTENSION
304	2210 E St	STAT

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21 August 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. John S. Warner
OGC/LC - 221 East Building

STAT Attached are comments by [redacted] on the proposed Bill S. 2188 for a Citizens' Council for Advocacy of Freedom. It seemed better, considering the short time at our disposal to present these comments in more or less personal form rather than as an SRS position; in any case, however, I agree with them.

As you are aware, the SRS Charter calls for speculation not only on the nature of International Communism but on ways and means of countering it. During the past 3-1/2 years we have thought continuously about this subject and we remain firmly convinced that a more concentrated and purposeful effort is urgently needed. We recognize that government and private elements must cooperate in such a campaign and in this sense we are in favor of the spirit of the proposed Congressional action. Nevertheless, as our comments show, we have considerable misgivings about this particular approach. As a constructive suggestion, we might propose that a small group within the Agency be set up to make recommendations to the Director on alternative methods of strengthening the Government and private effort in this field. I would be glad to elaborate on this suggestion.

[redacted] STAT

Dana B. Durand
Chief, SRS/DDI

2 encls.

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Comments on S. 2188, Proposed Bill for a Citizens' Council for Advocacy of Freedom

1. The purpose and intent of this bill are eminently worthy, but we have doubts concerning the efficacy of some of the means proposed.

2. The Communist ideological challenge is, of course, being constantly reevaluated in addresses of the President, the Secretary of State, the Director of USIA, and other leading officers of the Government and in the studies and reports of appropriate Congressional committees and various official bodies examining our foreign aid and information programs. Moreover, some of the private foundations and research organizations are concerned with this problem. It may well be that a Council along the lines proposed in this bill could present the challenge in a way that has not been done to date.

3. With respect to "coordinating approved programs and policies at all levels of government," there is in existence considerable machinery for this purpose - the National Security Council, the Operations Coordinating Board, and many interdepartmental committees. They and the departments they represent seek and employ the advice of specialists in both the substance and techniques of foreign information activity. The committee established at the instigation of Senator Jackson presumably will inquire into the adequacy and effectiveness of this coordinating machinery. In this connection, it must be remembered that policies and programs of an ideological nature are only one aspect of our contest with the Communist challenge; they require coordination with our diplomatic, economic, and military policies.

4. A more fundamental consideration prompted by the language of the bill is the question of whether one can obtain an agreed "true picture" of the American way of life and then project it in some magic way onto screens in the heads of Bushmen and Bolivians, Burmese and Bulgarians. Probably a majority of the two and a half billion people of the world have a personal image of America - a mosaic composed of a dozen or a thousand impressions. For the most part, these impressions are made by unofficial influences: books, magazines, movies, art, and

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industrial products; tourists, businessmen, entertainers, and missionaries. Added to these are the "official" impressions, what our public authorities say and do, with emphasis on the latter. By their nature the unofficial influences are not susceptible to coordination; they represent the United States in all its marvellous diversity. The marginal impact of our governmental agencies is extremely important in supplementing and extending the impressions conveyed by the multiplicity of contacts between Americans and foreigners. These agencies, of which USIA is the principal one in the ideological field, can and do endeavor to keep the record straight and to bring to foreign peoples typical examples of how our society thinks and acts. They cannot propagate an official ideological line, and in this respect will always be at a disadvantage in comparison to the instrumentalities of a monolithic and totalitarian dictatorship. Believing as we do that the kind of open society we champion conforms more nearly than does Communism to the aspirations of the majority of mankind, we have the task, as private citizens and public officials, of standing before the world as a confident, purposeful nation. To this end a council such as proposed in the bill probably could make a contribution, while recognizing that a "true picture" is an unrealizable ideal.

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Comments on S. 2188, Proposed Bill for a Citizens' Council for Advocacy of Freedom

1. A campaign to counter the Communist ideology and rectify the distorted picture of America abroad must be fully integrated with appropriate government bureaus. It is fallacious to believe that private individuals and corporations will abide by strictures of governmental coordination; they should be asked to contribute their ideas as advisers but they should not be made responsible for such a campaign. Experience in the information field after the end of World War II demonstrated that private elements have private interests which frequently clash with the requirements of the government. We must not forget that, while ideological and psychological appeals of Communism are strong, especially in economically underdeveloped countries, Communist successes are primarily the result of superior organizational strength. Therefore any attempt at effectively countering Communism cannot be expected to be successful unless unified, centrally planned and closely coordinated efforts are organized. This can only be done by the US Government itself.

2. Duties of the Council, Sec. 3, (1). The presentation of a more realistic picture of America abroad can succeed only if foreign nations are given the stories in accordance with their psychology and background. The USIA policy that the story of America be told in what is called the "American grass roots" manner is outmoded and has never succeeded, not even in Western Europe. Even less can it succeed in the Communist bloc or the Afro-Asian areas. An entirely new approach is needed to present a picture of the US - not in our terms but in terms of those to whom the message is directed.

Sec. 3, (2). Usual advertising techniques will not work. Not all the private specialists mentioned, perhaps only a few of them, have enough understanding of national psychology abroad. It must be kept in mind that the differences in mentality and culture between ourselves and most other peoples are very great. Furthermore, the program must be coordinated with US foreign policy in the political and economic fields; it is questionable whether such a coordination is possible so long as the government does not have a decisive voice in the Council; it must be able to reject suggestions not considered advisable.

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Sec. 3, (3) and (4). The ideological offensive of the adversaries will become more potent as they develop their approaches along the line of "socialist humanism," appear to relax their stringency, and are improving their standard of living. In combatting Communist ideology, American idealism per se will achieve little. The time has come for us to develop our own ideology, at least for export, in a concise form which is understandable to simple people. However, to underline this American ideology, we must offer examples of what we mean - not only in terms of gadgetry and comfortable living, but in terms of ideas, ideals, actions for the people's welfare, and a hopeful future. We must, moreover, take into account the undeniable fact that the trend in the world is one toward some kind of socialism and welfare state and that the price for economic individualism is considered too high by many nations. We must therefore fight for the revival of individualism - not the old "rugged" one but the new responsible one. Against Communist "humanism" and the artificial development of the "New Soviet Man" must be posited the humane individualism of a mature citizen who represents a more natural evolutionary stage in human development. Against Communist technology there must be demonstrated examples of the technical ingenuity of a democratic society. Against the rising Soviet GNP must be placed a US GNP rising even more sharply.

Sec. 3, (5). Concerted and cooperative action among nations for purposes of propaganda warfare is an illusion never to be achieved. Ten different nations would approach the subject in ten different ways. I doubt that this suggestion is feasible at all.

RECOMMENDATIONS

a. Our approach to information and psychological warfare should be tactically overhauled, with a view to abandoning the "grass roots" approach and instituting instead a scientifically based, inter-disciplinary approach to character, behavior and psychopathological tendencies of foreign individuals and nations.

b. An attempt should be made to create, on the basis of our great political leaders and philosophers of the past, a clearly defined American Ideology in which principles expounded by men like Jefferson and Lincoln will be put in the framework of our time, discarding period-bound nineteenth century concepts and embodying the most appealing principles of what we call the "American Way of Life."

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The appeal must be not only to us but to the millions of human beings living outside American civilization who cannot expect ever to have our social and industrial resources and who must rest content with their infinitely smaller ones.

c. In this connection, another attempt should be made to dissect the fallacies of Marxism-Leninism in Marxist-Leninist terms and to launch a campaign for modern, self-disciplined individualism. Also, US social and economic organization should be presented in twentieth century terms; a new term for "capitalism" might have to be coined.

d. In order to accomplish this, a committee of experts should be created which would draft the scientific bases for these campaigns. The committee should incorporate historians, political theorists, economists, psychologists, behavioral and genetic scientists and area experts as needed. Only after solid foundations for new campaigns have been laid should we start conducting them. The committee should be under US Government chairmanship and should be enabled to draft proposals on the basis of the best intelligence and with the cooperation of the policy makers.

e. The Council as conceived by the authors of the Bill should be under government direction and the decisions of what to do should be subject to government clearance and in accordance with established policies. It would do more harm than good to initiate campaigns which could not be backed up by political decisions or are not based on current realities.

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